1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu!na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

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185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes [593] bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes 423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

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584 [805] Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them. We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are [868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the [883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung 593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight 855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or 861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people 582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their 582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the 593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big 834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are [123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept 513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different 593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of /Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard
584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this
[581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten-
584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not
578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the water-hole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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587 589 [783] was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 768 [611] [604] The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arranging marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[584] [597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

586 Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality, by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce. [422]

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war
727 are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

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Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word, they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
97 and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 /12/ A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

61) The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)
The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no
852 longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the
611 mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
582 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

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German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a ǂ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	ǂ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

!KUNG

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
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2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent. (582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl 881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during 881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland 535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time 584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the [539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde 581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before [541] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

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NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

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Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

582 *Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old, girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

≠AUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do violence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

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Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

Exchange of wives 184
is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by 837
the *Hei-||om*.

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage 584
is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first
speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then
approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter
will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our
daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the
suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself.
The suitor then proceeds to the *||gãus* of the girl's mother,
taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut
he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your
daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give
our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have
come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you,
if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying
that he has become one of the family and prepared to share
their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You 584
are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see 585
whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his
bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois
oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to
her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter
knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes
to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her.
Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does
not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished.
He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night
and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days,
she does not come back he returns to his *||gãus* and, after
obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents
it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to
his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must
accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed
when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her
daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her
daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes
her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak
to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the
presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have
slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the
husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab*
or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of
making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to
live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up
residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own
||gãus his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The 606
son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law,
nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case
of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt 578
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- 593
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly afterward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

585 [301 822 831]

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

[841]

585 [821 761] Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she was getting older every day and already developing a reputation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju* /*oassi*. *Ju* means "people"; /*oassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities. 582

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3] [881]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils. 584 [184] 585

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, 1, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] " A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your 585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young 591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, " Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, " Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.